

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-10 IO-14

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 222

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INFO USMISSION NATO

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR 0127

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP

MEETING, JUNE 27, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THE AD HOC GROUP MET ON JUNE 27, IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE PLENARY, UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF TURKISH REP. GROUP DISCUSSED

THE JUNE 27 PLENARY STATEMENT OF POLISH REP STRULAK (SEPTTEL). CONSENSUS WAS THAT STRULAK'S PRESENTATION PLACED HEAVY EMPHASIS ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND WAS POLEMICAL IN TONE. US REP CIRCULATED BILATERAL REPORT ON DISCUSSION BETWEEN SOVIET REP AND US DEPREP (SEE VIENNA 0117). NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES REPORTED A

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BILATERAL WITH SOVIET REP KHLESTOV, IN WHICH KHLESTOV

ACCUSED THE WEST OF RENEGING ON A SUPPOSED AGREEMENT TO SEEK A FIRST STEP AGREEMENT. CANADIAN REP GRANDE REPORTED A BILATERAL WITH SMIRNOVSKY, IN WHICH THE SOVIET DEPREP ARGUED FOR BOTH THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL AND THE ORIGINAL NOVEMBER 8 EASTERN PROPOSAL. SMIRNOVSKY REPORTEDLY SAID THE USSR WOULD NOT ACCEPT "UNEQUAL TREATMENT", BUT MIGHT BE READY TO REDUCE MORE THAN THE US AS A RESULT OF EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS. SMIRNOVSKY ALSO GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT A COMMITMENT FOR ALL WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO REDUCE IN PHASE II WOULD NOT BE MUCH OF A CONCESSION. THE NEXT AD HOC GROUP MEETING WILL BE HELD ON JUNE 28. END SUMMARY.

COMMENTS ON JUNE 27 PLENARY

2. OPENING COMMENTARY ON THE JUNE 27 PLENARY STATEMENT OF POLISH REP STRULAK, US REP SAID HE WAS INTERESTED IN THE HEAVY EMPHASIS PLACED BY STRULAK ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE ARGUMENT THAT PACT CONCENTRATION ON TANKS WAS IN RESPONSE TO WESTERN NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES. US REP EXPRESSED SOME SURPRISE BY STRULAK'S USE OF THE TERM "SUPPOSED PREPONDERANCE" OF WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES, SINCE KHLESTOV HAS ALREADY TACITLY RECOGNIZED PACT GROUND FORCE SUPERIORITY. US REP FELT THE POLISH STATEMENT ALSO WAS DESIGNED TO REINFORCE THE LAST EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENT ON JUNE 14 BY CZECH REP KLEIN, IN WHICH THE NECESSITY FOR BOTH SIDES TO AGREE ON A "FIRST STEP" WAS STRESSED.

3. FRG DEPREP (HOFMANN) NOTED STRULAK'S CLAIM THAT THE FIGURE OF 7,000 NUCLEAR WARHEADS DEPLOYED TO FRG TERRITORY WAS WELL KNOWN. THE FRG DEPREP STATED THAT HE WAS UNAWARE OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS REFERRING TO 7,000 NUCLEAR WARHEADS ON FRG TERRITORY AND INDICATED THAT HIS DELEGATION PROBABLY WOULD DISPUTE THIS CLAIM IN A FUTURE PLENARY. HE NOTED THAT THE EAST WAS CONTINUING TO ASSERT THAT, IN A SITUATION OF OVERALL PARITY, INDIVIDUAL DISPARITIES DIDN'T MATTER. REFERRING TO STRULAK'S OBSERVATION THAT THERE ARE FIVE DIFFERENT ARMORED VEHICLES FOR EACH MAIN BATTLE

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TANK IN NATO, THE FRG DEPREP SAID THIS ARGUMENT GAVE THE WEST THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS TANK DEFINITIONS. IN HOFMANN'S VIEW, STRULAK'S MENTION OF THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL IN CONJUNCTION WITH SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS REVEALED THAT THE FIRST STEP PROPOSAL WAS NOTHING MORE THAN AN EASTERN ATTEMPT TO "DRESS UP THE SAME OLD CAT IN A NEW DRESS."

4. NETHERLAND REP QUARLES NOTED THAT STRULAK HAD AGAIN CONTENDED THAT WESTERN PUBLIC STATEMENTS DEMONSTRATED THAT AN OVERALL BALANCE AND STABILITY ALREADY EXISTED IN THE REDUCTION AREA. IN DISPUTING STRULAK'S ANALYSIS, QUARLES OBSERVED THAT WESTERN REMARKS USUALLY REFER TO THE "WORLD BALANCE" AND NUCLEAR PARITY. QUARLES FELT THE ALLIES SHOULD STRESS THAT, IN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, THE PARTICIPANTS WERE DEALING INSTEAD WITH THE SPECIFIC SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND WERE ATTEMPTING TO CREATE A NEW SITUATION THERE. THE GOALS IS AN ENVIRONMENT WHERE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD NOT BE USED IN A PART OF THE WORLD -- CENTRAL EUROPE -- WHERE WARS OFTEN HAD STARTED IN THE PAST.

5. QUARLES ALSO FELT IT WAS NECESSARY TO POINT OUT AGAIN TO THE EAST THAT EQUAL OBLIGATIONS FROM THE OUTSET, ON PAPER, MIGHT NOT LEAD TO EQUAL PRACTICAL RESULTS. REDUCTION FOR THE US AND THE USSR WOULD ONLY MEAN WITHDRAWALS, BUT SUCH WAS NOT THE CASE FOR MOST OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. QUARLES THOUGHT THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE ASKED IF THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT A NON-INCREASE AGREEMENT (FOR EXAMPLE) INVOLVING ALL OF THEIR FORCES, WHICH WAS WHAT THEY WERE ASKING FROM MOST WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS.

6. BELGIAN ACTING REP WILLOT STATED THAT STRULAK'S PLENARY ARGUMENTATION WAS AIMED AGAINST THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT. MOREOVER, STRULAK'S STATEMENT, THAT BY NOT INCLUDING AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES WE "ALLOW FOR THE GROWTH OF BOTH", WAS SIMPLY A REPETITION OF THE OLD POLISH IDEA OF A CEILING ON NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES. WILLOT OBSERVED THAT THE POLISH SPEECH WAS  
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UNUSUALLY POLEMICAL; HE HAD ASKED THE CZECH DEPREP MEISHERA WHY, AND WAS TOLD IT WAS IN REPLY TO THE JUNE 20 CANADIAN PLENARY STATEMENT ON CONFIDENCE.

7. UK DEPREP (GOODALL) AGREED WITH THE BELGIAN ACTING REP'S COMMENTS CONCERNING STRULAK' EMPHASIS ON INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES. HOWEVER, UK DEPREP FELT THAT STRULAK HAD PLACED GREATER EMPHASIS ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS. GOODALL ADDED THAT THE EAST APPARENTLY WAS BOTHERED BY WESTERN ARGUMENTS PERTAINING TO CONFIDENCE AND THUS HAD DECIDED TO RAISE THEIR OWN ISSUES OF CONFIDENCE. HE FELT THAT STRULAK'S COMMENTS PERTAINING TO CONFIDENCE WERE THE LEAST CONVINCING PART OF HIS REMARKS.

8. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) NOTED THAT STRULAK'S STATEMENT WAS POLEMICAL AND EVEN RESORTED TO SARCASM, WHICH WAS UNUSUAL FOR THE POLISH REP. HE FELT THAT STRULAK'S ACCUSATION CONCERNING WESTERN MISINTERPRETATION OF THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE JUNE 28, 1973 COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE CORRECTED IN A FUTURE PLENARY STATEMENT.

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 223

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INFO USMISSION NATO

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

INTERPRETERS

9. A REPORT BY THE BELGIAN DEPREP CONCERNING THE POSSIBILITY OF REDUCING COSTS BY HIRING INTERPRETERS ON A BASIS OF 2-3 DAYS A WEEK RAHTER THAN THE PRESENT LONG TERM 7 DAYS A WEEK CONTRACT WAS DISCUSSED. THE STUDY INDICATED THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 2-3 DAY PROPOSAL WOULD NOT IN FACT RESULT IN ANY SAVINGS BECAUSE THE INTERPRETERS WOULD THEN HAVE TO BE PAID

TRAVEL COSTS. A PROPOSAL BY THE FRG AND UK DEPREPS THAT WAYS BE FOUND TO MAKE MORE USE OF THE INTERPRETERS IN THEIR SPARE TIME WAS REFERRED TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING GROUP.

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10. NETHERLANDS REP COMMENTED THAT SOVIET REP KHLESTOV IN A BRIEF CONVERSATION AFTER THE JUNE 27 PLENARY SESSSION, HAD ACCUSED THE WEST OF GOING BACK ON AN AGREEMENT TO SEEK A FIRST STEP AGREEMENT WHICH ALLEGEDLY HAD BEEN MADE AT THE JUNE 18 INFORMAL. NETHERLANDS REP HAD REPLIED TO KHLESTOV THAT THE WEST WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANYTHING WHICH WOULD PREJUDICE THE ALLIED POSITION. AS THE SOVIET REP APPEARED ANNOYED, QUARLES SUGGESTED TO THE AD HOC GROUP THAT IT REFLECT FURTHER ON WHAT WAS ACTUALLY AGREED AT THE JUNE 18 INFORMAL MEETING. THE CANADIAN REP COMMENTED THAT WESTERN REPS HAD, IN FACT REPEATED THEIR PREVIOUS REMARKS AT THE JUNE 25 INFORMAL WITH THE EAST. IN HIS OPINION, IT WAS CLEAR THAT NO PREVIOUS "COMMITMENT TO A FIRST STEP AGREEMENT" HAD BEEN MADE BY THE WEST.

11. CANADIAN REP GRANDE REPORTED ON A LONG CONVERSATION HE HAD WITH SOVIET DEPREP SMIRNOVSKY AT A SOCIAL FUNCTION ON JUNE 26. DURING THE CONVERSATION, SMIRNOVSKY OBJECTED STRENUOUSLY TO ASYMMETRICAL REDCUTIONS, BUT ADDED THAT THE USSR WOULD BE READY TO REDUCE MORE THAN THE US AS A RESULT OF EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS. (COMMENT: APPARENTLY AS BASED ON TOTAL FORCES OF BOTH SIDES). SMIRNOVSKY ADMITTED THAT, IN HIS PERSONAL OPINION, ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS NEED NOT MEAN A LOSS OF SECURITY FOR THE USSR. HOWEVER, THE PEOPLE, GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY OFFICIALS OF THE USSR WOULD NEVER AGREE TO SUCH UNEQUAL TREATMENT. FURTHERMORE, SOVIET ALLIES, PARTICULARLY THE GDR, WERE OPPOSED BECAUSE THEY FELT ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS OF SOVIET FORCES WOULD AFFECT THEIR SECURITY. THE SOVIET DEPREP ALSO STATED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT AGREE TO REMOVE THEIR TANKS UNLESS THE US DID LIKEWISE. SMIRNOVSKY ASKED WHY AIR FORCE PERSONNEL COULD NOT BE INCLUDED AND, IN RESPONSE TO CANADIAN REP'S QUESTION AS TO WHAT SIDE HAD THE MOST AIR FORCE PERSONNEL, ANSWERED THAT HE "SUPPOSED THE WEST DID". SOVIET DEPREP ALSO ASKED IF THE WEST WOULD BE WILLING TO AGREE TO REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IN GRANDE'S VIEW, SMIRNOVSKY TRIED TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT A WESTERN COMMITMENT FOR ALL ALLIED DIRECT PARTICIPANTS

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TO REDUCE IN PHASE II WOULD NOT BE MUCH OF A CONCESSION.  
(COMMENT: GRANDE DID NOT EXPLAIN HOW THE SUBJECT AROSE.)  
SOVIET DEPREP ALSO STATED THAT THE USSR WOULD FAVOR  
THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE GAP BETWEEN PHASES OR SETS OF  
REDUCTIONS. CANADIAN REP CONSIDERED THAT SMIRNOVSKY  
WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE CHANCES FOR ANY AGREEMENT  
BEING MADE DURING THE PRESENT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS.

12. US REP CIRCULATED A MEMORANDUM OF A CONVERSATION  
BETWEEN SOVIET REP KHLESTOV AND US DEPREP WHICH  
OCCURRED ON THE MARGIN OF A SOCIAL OCCASION JUNE 25  
(TEXT VIENNA 0117).

13. NEXT AD HOC GROUP MEETING IS SCHEDULED FOR 1030  
JUNE 28.RESOR

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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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